

and commend their State for their very low administrative costs in the present AFDC Program. I did not get a chance to check it in my State, but I know our average is in that vicinity. The national average is \$56, and in some States it is as high as \$106. Under this bill we are rewarding those States with high administrative costs. We are rewarding States that have a \$106 administrative expense and punishing the State of West Virginia for being good stewards over the administration of their funds.

Madam President, every year for 5 years—you have to get 25 percent of the women off the rolls the first year, the next year you have to have 5 percent more, the next year 5 percent more, until, in 5 years, 50 percent of these people are off the rolls. On a point that is not relevant to this amendment, I submit to you that 20 percent of the people on AFDC today are incapable of either finding or holding a job. What happens to them?

One morning one of my sons came home. I have to tell you, all my children are pretty liberal when it comes to poor people. They have good values. I am immensely proud of every one of them. My son, who practices law downtown in Washington, DC, said, "Dad, I wish you would go with me in the morning. Our firm is in charge of feeding the homeless people in the morning."

"Where?"

"A project called SOME. So Others May Eat. I think it will be good for your soul."

It was nearing Christmas. My daughter, who was in school in New York, was home for Christmas. We all went. The temperature was 28 degrees, and 400 men and 2 women were standing outside waiting for the dining room to open. So I flipped pancakes for 3 hours—the best day's work I ever did. Then I went around, just like I would at a political rally, talking to these men. "Where do you come from?"

I found that one-third of them had jobs. About a third of them had a drug habit. And a third of them were essentially dysfunctional, they could not hold a job. And being dysfunctional is not peculiar to men, it is also true of women, and a lot of women on AFDC today cannot and will never take, or be able to hold, a job. What happens to them? If the goal is to get everybody off the rolls, how on Earth are you going to do it?

Senator GRAHAM made a very salient point a moment ago about some States trying to meet their mandates. They have nothing left after they meet the mandates. I think he said in Florida, 63 percent of the funds that Florida will get will go to meet the mandates and what is left will go out in AFDC grants. In my State it is almost 80 percent, which means when we meet the mandates of this bill, we will have \$40 a year per child to hand out.

The most cruel among us may say, "Well, you have food stamps on top of

that." Food stamps will not pay the electric bill. Food stamps will not pay for a child's medical care, for housing, or for his clothing. I cannot believe how callous and indifferent we are to the least among us.

I started off mentioning de Tocqueville. I never tire of talking about him. He talked about enlightened self-interest. That is a very simple proposition that has governed my entire life. The principles I learned in Sunday school in the Methodist Church and the principle of enlightened self-interest that I learned from reading "Democracy In America" have governed my life, and that is where my values come from.

And what does it mean? It means that when some poor soul is reaching for the first rung on the ladder and you are on the top rung, you do not step on his hands. You reach down and take his hand and you pull him up. You pull him up because it makes him a better citizen, it makes the country a better country, and it makes me a better person.

How could anybody quarrel with those three principles, all of which are unassailable? So that is what is wrong with this bill. We are reaching out and giving a hand to some and we are stepping on the hands of millions who did not have a dog's chance to begin with and will have even less.

Madam President, I could not vote for this bill. I will never vote for a bill that includes so many things I deplore in this country. I might also say I would hate to have to go home and explain to my folks why I voted for a bill that uses their tax dollars and sends back to them only \$394 for each poor child at the same time it sends the State of California \$1,716. You can use all the sophistry in the world. You can use every kind of convoluted argument in the world to try to defend this. It is indefensible.

So, Madam President, I am honored to join my good friends and colleagues, Senator GRAHAM and Senator BRYAN, in trying to bring some sense and sanity to this bill. There are a lot of things about this bill I do not like. I would have a very difficult time voting for this bill even if this amendment was agreed to. I am not terribly worried about that.

But, for the life of me, when you look at that map and you see the States that are helped and the States that are hurt under this amendment—which simply says divide the pot of money by the number of poor children in this country and send it out to them on a per capita basis—you cannot improve on that. So I am hoping when the rollcall is up on this amendment, people will look at that chart and realize we are not talking about State money; we are talking about Federal taxpayers' money. We are distributing it in the most unkind, most unfair way I can imagine.

I yield the floor.

# ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1995

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until 9 a.m. on Wednesday, September 13, 1995.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I further ask unanimous consent that at 9 a.m. the Senate resume consideration of H.R. 4, the welfare bill, and there be 10 minutes for debate on the Moseley-Braun amendment No. 2471, to be followed by a vote on or in relation to the Moseley-Braun amendment No. 2471.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I further ask unanimous consent that following the disposition of the Moseley-Braun amendment, the Senate proceed to 4 minutes for debate, equally divided in the usual form, on the second amendment, No. 2472, to be followed by a vote on or in relation to that amendment, with that rollcall vote limited to 10 minutes in length.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I further ask unanimous consent that following the disposition of the second Moseley-Braun amendment, there be 20 minutes for debate, equally divided in the usual form, on the Graham amendment No. 2565, to be followed by a vote on or in relation to that amendment, with that rollcall vote limited to 10 minutes in length.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I further ask unanimous consent that following the disposition of the Graham amendment, there be 10 minutes for debate, to be equally divided between Senators DOMENICI and GRAMM on the Domenici amendment No. 2575, to be followed by a vote on or in relation to that amendment, and the rollcall vote be limited to 10 minutes in length.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I further ask unanimous consent that the same parameters as outlined regarding the Domenici amendment apply with respect to debate time in the usual form, voting option, and length of rollcall votes to the following additional amendments: Daschle, No. 2672; Daschle, No. 2671; DeWine, No. 2518; Mikulski, No. 2668; Faircloth, No. 2608; and Boxer, No. 2592.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, no further votes will be held tonight because of these unanimous consents, and Members are reminded there will be 10 rollcall votes beginning at 9:10 a.m. with a few minutes in between each vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.